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we are told that the subjunctive in Indirect Questions is a late development in Latin syntax, Plautus and Terence frequently employing the indicative in such sentences. For this very reason it would have been well to have mentioned that the construction nevertheless occurs in Umbrian; see Buck, § 316. It may be noted that § 404 is apparently new.

If I have spent much space in pointing out errors in Mr. Bennett's book, or in suggesting improvements, it has not been done from any lack of appreciation of its real merit, but in the hopes that the "*Latin Language*" will speedily have another edition with these blemishes removed in order that the work may more completely meet the needs for which it is intended.

TRUMAN MICHELSON.

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The Cults of the Greek States. By LEWIS RICHARD FARNELL.

Five Volumes. Oxford, Clarendon Press. Henry Frowde, 1907. 8°. Vol. III = pp. XII + 393; IV = pp. VIII + 454.

It is some eleven years since the first two volumes of this work appeared, the first dealing with Cronus, Zeus, Hera, Athena, and the second with Artemis, Hecate and Aphrodite. A third volume was to appear soon afterwards. But it has expanded into a third and fourth, and there is to be a fifth which will treat of the worships of Hermes, Dionysus, and the minor cults. Dr. Farnell has already collected the material for the chapter on hero-worship, but it does not appear in the present volumes and will probably be reserved for a separate work. The delay in the publication, however, is not to be regretted, since it has allowed Dr. Farnell to profit by the wealth of epigraphical and archaeological material discovered in the excavations of the last eleven years which have thrown much light on the history of Greek cults. He has also been able to acquaint himself with many works which he did not use for his first two volumes and has had time more ripely to reconsider many questions. He now gives us more ethnologic and anthropologic discussion and shows greater knowledge of the works of English and German scholars, especially Usener, whose *Griechische Götternamen* was not available in his earlier work.

Dr. Farnell's treatment is eminently sane and cautious. He does not start with any definite preconceived theory as do so many of the articles in Roscher's *Lexicon* and so many special treatises on Greek religion; but he reviews all the evidence, literary and archaeological, for each cult separately, traces the worship in its various forms through the different cities, and draws his conclusions afterwards; not that Dr. Farnell is so severely inductive as not to be willing to discuss the theories of others. On the contrary he occupies too much space with discussion of German theories and with combating the opinions of other scholars,

especially those of Frazer. This gives the book a polemic and controversial tone. Dr. Farnell has little patience with notions of original animism or fetishism or totemism, and simply follows the chronological method, tracing the progress from the more primitive to the more advanced religious thought and presenting with great ingenuity and clearness all the evidence on any particular question so that scholars have a chance to judge for themselves what the origin of any ritual or cult was.

Dr. Farnell makes a very exhaustive study of cult-epithets and ritual, and we hope that the fifth volume will contain a good index to the wealth of material in the whole work and, what is also much needed, a list of the cult-epithets. The lists in Roscher and Robert are unsatisfactory. To each section on a particular cult the present work attaches two archaeological chapters, the first dealing with the cult monuments and the second with ideal art types. These are illustrated by eighty-six excellent plates, including three of coins. To the discussion of each cult is also appended a list of references to Greek and Latin sources, literary and epigraphical and sometimes numismatic, and a geographical register. These are very valuable and on the whole reasonably exhaustive. There are but few omissions and errors, and those mainly in coins and inscriptions. The reference 262 for a cult of Demeter at Sinope given on pages 337 and 372 of Vol. III is not to be found. In Vol. III, p. 373 one would expect a reference to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene (cf. Schrader-Wiegand, Priene, p. 147 f.). In Vol. IV, p. 91, 85a, a coin-type of Sinope with a seated Poseidon is noted but nothing is said about the coin-type with a standing Poseidon. In Vol. IV, p. 433, we have *per contra*, a coin-type of Sinope with a standing Apollo, and nothing is said about the one with a seated Apollo (cf. A. J. P. XXVII, pp. 266, 267). Nor is there any reference to the cult of Poseidon Heliconius at Sinope (cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>2</sup>, 603). The references for Apollo *προστάτης* at Olbia (IV, p. 372) could have been increased by a use of Miss Hirst, *The Cults of Olbia* (J. H. S. XXII, p. 252 f.) and of Latyshev, *Inscr. Ant. Orae Sept. Pont. Eux.* On the same page there should be a reference to I. G. VII (C. I. G. Sept. I) 40 as well as to C. I. G. Sept. I 39. The new designation and numbering now used for the Greek Corpus, moreover, is nowhere adopted by Dr. Farnell. This impedes the work of reference for those who use only the new numbering.

Chapter I of Vol. III deals with Ge, who was not always worshipped in anthropomorphic form though art assisted such conceptions. It was difficult for the higher anthropomorphic religion to attach itself to so materialistic a name. But Ge had many emanations such as Themis, Pandora, Aglaurus, Rhea-Cybele and brightest of all Demeter. With the last of these, the most fascinating of all worships in Hellenic religion chapter II deals, and with fine success. It far surpasses any of the ency-

clopaedia articles on Demeter and discusses everything which is known about her cults with great care and with complete mastery of the sources. Dr. Farnell thinks  $\Delta\eta$  is not a dialect-variant for  $\rho\eta$  but perhaps akin to the Creton  $\Delta\eta\alpha\iota$  = barley. But the term "Earth-mother" sums up most of the ideas associated with Demeter. Her connection with Ge is shown by such epithets as  $\chi\alpha\mu\acute{\upsilon}\nu\eta$ ,  $\alpha\eta\eta\sigma\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\rho\pi\omicron\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ,  $\chi\theta\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$ . As Earth-goddess Demeter is more than a mere corn-goddess. No doubt this latter idea belonged to the earliest conception of Demeter and the Homeric and Hesiodic poems recognize her as the corn-goddess alone. She was, however, never absolutely identified with the corn-sheaf itself nor evolved from it. She was no simple corn-fetish, as Frazer thinks, but her cult embraced the much wider range of conceptions involved in Ge. Many festivals and cults show her agrarian character but the chthonian cults of Demeter at Hermione, Sparta, Boeotia, Elis, Paros, Cnidus, Cyzicus, Syracuse and elsewhere make her appear rather as the great goddess of the lower world, here again demonstrating her original identity with Earth. Even the theriomorphic cult of the horse-headed Demeter at Phigalia and her epithet  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\alpha$  show traces of a worship of Demeter as an Earth-goddess. But there is no idea of totemism, for we hear of no tribe which claimed affinity with the horse. The Arcadian cult is to be traced to Boeotia and the north where Poseidon the horse-god is prominent and from whom Demeter probably took over an equine form in order to become the mother of his horse progeny. But Demeter was not only an agrarian and chthonic divinity. Her ethnic and political epithets show her civic and social importance and why she was associated with the Delphic amphictyony. But the epithet  $\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$  and the festival of the Thesmophoria have nothing to do with law or marriage. The Thesmophoria was no celebration of human marriage, for men were universally excluded. The main object was to further agrarian and human fecundity. Pp. 105-106 Dr. Farnell offers a new suggestion for  $\theta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omicron\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ . He thinks that it originally bore the sense of "the bringer of treasure or riches". He does not accept Miss Harrison's matriarchal theory by which she accounts for the Thesmophoria. The supervision of this festival was restricted to women for the general and natural reason that their part in the mystery of reproduction is so obvious physically that it brings them into closer symbolic connection with the Earth which also receives seed, enlarges it, and brings it to growth above the soil.

The treatment of the Eleusinia and other mysteries, pp. 126-214, is equally thorough and exhaustive. Dr. Farnell combats Jevons' and Frazer's theory of a sacramental communion and Foucart's belief that the hierophant taught magic formulae by which the soul might avoid the dangers of hell. His conclusions may best be stated in his own words, p. 197. "The solemn fast and preparation, the mystic food eaten and drunk, the moving passion-

play, the extreme sanctity of the *ιερά* revealed, all these influences could induce in the worshipper, not indeed the sense of absolute union with the divine nature such as the christian sacrament or the hermit's reverie or the Maenad's frenzy might give, but at least the feeling of intimacy and friendship with the deities, and a strong current of sympathy was established by the mystic contact. These deities . . . . were the powers that governed the world beyond the grave: those who had won their friendship by initiation in this life would by the simple logic of faith regard themselves as certain to win blessing at their hands in the next".

Passing to the succeeding chapters we find the third given to the Monuments and the fourth to the Ideal Types of Demeter-Kore. They show that Dr. Farnell is a skilled archaeologist, well acquainted with all illustrations of this cult, and an excellent art critic. Chapter V is an interesting account of the cults of Hades whose personality probably emerged in pre-Homeric times as the nether counterpart of Zeus himself. But his worship never attained any great significance and there are few monuments which represent him. In these as in the cults the ill-omened "Hades" was carefully avoided. In chapter VI the cults of the Mother of the Gods and Rhea-Cybele are discussed and it is shown how the Greeks always had a prejudice against the Phrygian cult because of their opposition to violent religious ecstasy. But it was taken up by the later Orphic sects and affected the private religious life without becoming formally national. It had large vogue in Asia Minor but its greatest triumphs were in Rome. In this cult Dr. Farnell says that there is a hint at the conception of a virgin-mother but that it was not propagated as a clear theological dogma till christianity came.

Volume IV, the last we have as yet, devotes the first ninety-seven pages to Poseidon and pages 98-454 to Apollo. Poseidon was a backward deity and never intimately associated with the intellectual advance of Greece. But his ritual and cult are of importance for early Greek ethnography and as evidence of early migrations. The cult of Poseidon Hippios was widely prevalent but probably originated among the Minyans of Thessaly and from there spread especially to Delphi and Boeotia where the Minyans probably came in contact with Ionians. The proof of this is the epithet Heliconius, which, according to Dr. Farnell, means that Poseidon was the god of Helicon and of an Ionic confederacy near-by. When the Minyans were driven further south, they of course took their god with them. In Attica Poseidon and Erechtheus were not identical as many scholars have believed. Erechtheus belonged to the pre-Ionic community and was distinct from Poseidon who belonged mainly to the Ionic and partly to the Minyan migration.

In his treatment of Apollo Dr. Farnell also lays great stress on the ethnographic side. He first discusses the etymology of the

name and finds that even the derivation of Apollo from ἀπέλλα, a Doric word meaning "assembly", has its difficulties. Deserted by etymology he turns to legend and ritual and comes to the conclusion that Apollo was originally not a god of political meetings but the god of flocks and herds and of a race of hunters of wolfs and boars. The epithet Λύκειος must be derived from λύκος = wolf and not from an assumed form λύκη = light. Even the name of Lycia arose from an early Hellenic migration of worshippers of Apollo Λύκειος, which started from Argos and moved via Crete and Rhodes. Dr. Farnell rejects the theory of Wilamowitz that Apollo is a deity of the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Asia Minor and argues that he came from the North by a double route, one by Tempe, the other by Dodona. The Hyperboreans were not a distinct people at all but ministrants of Apollo who performed certain sacred functions for North Hellas. He adopts the brilliant theory of Ahrens that Ὑπερβόρειοι is a lengthening of Ὑπέρβοροι, which equals Ὑπέρφοροι, those who carry the cereal offerings from one community to another. The central point, however, of the earliest Hyperborean or North Greek Apolline ritual was Delphi and thither were brought the first Hyperborean offerings along the sacred way from Tempe. Later, Delos became the goal of the offerings.

The epithets of Apollo are very carefully studied. He is a pastoral deity, a god of agriculture, a maritime god, a social, ethical and political god, the divine leader of migrations, a god of law, of medicine, of prophecy, and the patron of the intellectual life. But according to Dr. Farnell he is not the sun-god, a theory which some scholars will be slow to give up in view of the epithet Φοῖβος and the goddess Φοῖβη. Pp. 179-218 give an excellent presentation of Delphi and its influence on Greek religion and morality. Chapter V treats of Apolline ritual and festivals. Sacramental communion is rare and where it does occur, there is no evidence for Frazer's idea of a slain god. Nor is there anything totemistic in the ritual of Apollo Lykeios or even of Apollo Smintheus "who relieves the husbandman from the plague of field-mice",<sup>1</sup> since there is no trace of a wolf or mouse-tribe, and Apollo was not regarded as incarnate in the wolf or mouse. Chapter VI on the Monuments and Chapter VII on the

<sup>1</sup> Another solution of the Smintheus question which is in line with the universally recognized function of the rat as a pestilence carrier is suggested by the following passage, to which the attention of the Editor was first called by Professor William Hand Browne.

Dr. W. J. Simpson, Croonian Lecture on Plague cited by writer in Blackwood's Magazine, Plague in India, Oct. 1907, p. 582 f., says: 'There is in the British Museum a coin of the Emperor Lucius Verus, struck at Pergamum in Asia Minor during a plague epidemic and representing Aesculapius with a rat at his feet and a small human figure standing by with arms outstretched in the attitude of fear and worship'. 'In the same collection', Dr. Simpson says: 'there is a medallion of the Emperor Antoninus struck in commemoration of the erection of a temple to Aesculapius on the Tiberine island

Ideal Types are very valuable for the history of art. The types are chosen with discriminating care and in cases of dispute about art-matters Dr. Farnell always shows sound judgment. For example, the view of Waldstein, which so many English and American archaeologists accept that the "Apollo on the Omphalos" is a boxer is rejected; and rightly, since the Torlonia copy actually has a quiver carved by its side.

Few errors of fact occur in these noble pages such as the statement (IV, p. 218) that the Pythaistae watched from the Acropolis wall for the gleam from Harma. Strabo 404 expressly says it was from the wall between the Pythium and Olympieum, that is, the city-wall. Vol. IV, p. 318, l. 6 f. there is a confusion of right and left hands in the description of an Apollo. Misprints, too, are rare, though some of them are irritating; III, p. 17, l. 14 has Tergamene for Pergamene; p. 34, l. 13 twelfth of Poseidon for twelfth of Poseideon; p. 265, l. 7 Pheitoi for Rheitoi; p. 278 Demophon for Damophon; IV, p. 127, l. 23 maintainth at for maintain that; III, pp. 245, 253, 278, IV, p. 66, etc., Kertsch for Kertch; IV, p. 65 and p. 68, ll. 24, 28 Oricoli for Otricoli.

These two volumes, then, constitute a rich contribution to the wide subject with which they deal. They display the immense learning of the author, his broad knowledge of literature, philology, folk-lore and archaeology, including inscriptions, sculpture, ceramics and numismatics. They are thorough-going in their investigations, keen in their analysis of material, and full of sane unfaddish general perceptions and judgments. The work as a whole is, in fact, the standard one on Greek cults in English and compares favorably with Gruppe's epoch-making *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* and with the articles in the dictionaries of Daremberg et Saglio, Pauly-Wissowa and Roscher. It should be in the library of or at least accessible to every student of Greek religion, history, and archaeology.

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at Rome. Plague was epidemic at Rome and a mission was sent to the temple of Aesculapius at Epidamus to ask for advice. The advice given by the Aesculapian priests was apparently to destroy the rats, for on the reverse side of the coin is the return of the mission with a serpent, being welcomed by the river god'.

'Snakes', adds the writer in Blackwood, 'are destroyers of rats, and in Asia Minor and elsewhere harmless snakes were kept in houses and temples, no doubt, for that purpose as well as objects of worship'. Cf. Amm. Marcell. XXIII 26, 24. As medical *μυκτόνιοι* Asklepios and his father were one, and a new meaning is given to the proverb *μὴς πίττης γένηται*.—B. L. G.